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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*sagiyáńa*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *baásil* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbazá* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *bazá* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tánib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-luká* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *táxo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*mazadáń*).

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846 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece
•778 of dried bagasse, in order to sear it and to allow the rest of the
umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázow*) is then placed
789 in a *táxo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewhere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been
778 attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature
789 from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient
[811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut
789 shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard; there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *tzād* at the door of the house, at

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are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a journey: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called *palazi-bát*, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good; if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions. The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maral-allág* or *maad-adág*.

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergáń*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balańóbáń* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being.

These *balańóbáń* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balańóbáń*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balańóbáń:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed.

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on.

What does a *balańóbáń* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal,

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat, while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-

inumbet nakisawad ki ya dordori, nalocsaw to dordori, se na ñga nan kid-di, "Amogko din ta matay ka kia pagsinkadam nana. Ngem kane mabalin mañgahi kito matay ay, nekalin na la kito nagsisikadan na se matay. ooo

Kane amuan da to makin panpane kito natay ay, inayaban da ñgamin da tu cabulon da ta mawe da ñga palayan to dordori, to ya makin basol kito natay. Kane ombet da ñga mamatay kito dordori ñga nan da ay pahamuan ay nammin da ñga natay kane iamog na to dordori ñga matay da ñgamin.

Kanen umbet ya nududi ñga algaw ay awan nin to an anting na ya dordori to-to te-taman da kito sidong na to abay ñga cayo ñga magñgahanka alipawen. To idi ñga cayo ay attangkam ñga sib-biag panda kid-diyin.

——During the olden times there lived a family in 778
our settlement, which is called Madatag. In this settlement there lived one family which was the richest of all. They had all the different kinds of ancient jars, the most precious of which is called *dordori*. If the head of that family went to a certain place, that *Dordori* would give advice concerning the jars as to which was *dordori*. This often caused arguments with the people. But the jar insisted upon the truth of what it had been telling the head. "You know that jar; it is the most precious of all the jars: it can even buy a beautiful young maiden; but this jar is even more wonderful, for it can even walk from place to place to find its enemy."

778 One bright morning, all the members of that family went out to work and forgot to fasten the door of their house. Soon it so happened that a man came and spoke some indecent words so that the jar was hurt by them. Then it uttered these words: "How I wish that you would die at this moment." Instantly, the man fell to the ground just as the jar was uttering the words.

When the relatives of the man who died, came to the house of that rich family, they started a great fight against that family which resulted in the death of all the people in my settlement (Madatag). They were all eaten by the jar (*Dordori*), and this *Dordori* is still in Madatag. It is buried under an *alipawen* tree. If some one dies, it is always the jar who will eat him.

Simadun A Ato

WILD DOGS

(Bayag River Dialect)

000 *Dean pon algaw uuei ma sit a gake ungaden nod Guipngay.*

In the old times there was a man whose name was Guipngay.

Unuauadet Kampote deag mad deidec a gabon nangted mad banuua.

He lived in Kampote, near the mountain Gabon, toward the trail.

He told his neighbors what he had seen and also of the place. 000

Mangũpun to awan pot toon anganup deag mad decdec a canadean ma cueva.

From that time, no person hunts near this mountain where the tunnel is.

WHY MOUNT KINGKINGAN IS BARE

Long ago in time immemorial there lived in Agnoan an Old Man named Osud. He was the ruler of the people. The people believed that there was no human being higher than he. The people believed that he was the one who made their plants to grow, and everything that they saw. Their belief was that tobacco was once a wicked person. Osud, the ruler, was the enemy of that person. Because of his evil nature, Osud ordered him to be changed into a plant. So it was done. The wicked person became the first tobacco of the people. 778

Osud was always kind to his people. Whenever he tapped the ground with his arrow, instantly he would be surrounded by a company of dwarfs who were ready to do his bidding. His commands were always kind. Sometimes he ordered the dwarfs to carry sweet herbs to the people of the country. Sometimes he set them to work in the tobacco fields situated on the hillside, and chuckled with glee when he saw that the farmers raised big crops.

The people depended upon their plants for their living. The kiañgins extended far upon the moun-

778 tains and were famous for the abundance and the quality of the crops. When the season was too dry, Osud ordered the dwarfs to water the plants in the night. When the rainy season was heavy and the lowland was covered by the rivers in flood, the sun still shone on the high slopes of the mountains. The people were so grateful to Osud that they were willing to do anything that he wanted them to do.

When they asked what he desired, Osud always replied. "I do not want anything that you could give me. All I demand is that you will never set foot above the line which I have drawn around near the top of the mountain. That part belongs to me." The people did not understand about this line. Some three quarters of the way up the mountain the Old Man had drawn a line clear around the mountain. The tobacco fields went up the mountain to the line; but beyond it was a wilderness of brush and stone. It seemed very strange that the ruler, Osud, would forbid them to cross the line. But they loved him so dearly that they willingly obeyed. Never once did a native cross into the uncultivated wilderness.

One day Osud called his people together. He told them that he was going on a long journey. He asked them to promise not to cross his line: telling them that, if they did so, their homes and rich fields of tobacco would be destroyed. The people, eager to please him, gave their promise, and begged him to return to them as soon as possible. The people cried as he tapped the ground with his arrow and disappeared into the earth.

Many years passed; but Osud did not return. The 778
people began to question, and one young man said: "Why should we not plant above this useless line? There is no reason why we should not grow more tobacco than we do; and I, for one, believe that the top of the mountain has the richest soil of all." At first the people were shocked at the idea of disobeying the Old Man. But those who had promised were now too old to work. Osud had been gone so many years that the work was done by their sons.

"We did not promise," the young men said. "Why should we not plant above the line?" So they did, and each year planted higher and higher until the whole mountain was covered with waving green plants.

Never had the people been so rich and happy. But one day the earth shook. The mountain top opened and there stood Osud, their ruler. His eyes were flashing with anger. "Begone!" he shouted, "away from my mountain top!"

The people were greatly frightened and fled. In terror they ran down through the tobacco fields until they reached the lowlands. Then, pausing to look back, they saw a horrible sight. All the tobacco was gone.

Above, on the top of the mountain, stood Osud. He spoke saying: "I sentence you. No tree shall grow on this mountain because you have disobeyed me. From this time forth, you will never become rich and, since you disliked the lowlands, you will always stay on the mountain sides." After he had spoken he disappeared in the mountain where he stood. A great fire

778 enveloped the tobacco fields, and all the trees were consumed in fulfilment of the saying that: "no tree shall grow here."

Many years have passed; but the mountain is still bare. And, if you come up to Apayao, you will see for yourself the place which Osud set on fire. Not a single tree has since grow on that mountain. This mountain is located below Magabta. It is called *bantay kungkingan.* If a stranger should pass by this mountain for the first time, he must pray and leave some gift. If he fails to do so, he will get caught in a heavy rain and become sick.

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE DANAO

Long long ago in the *barangay* of Namaltugan there was a lake called *"Danao,"* (lake). One day, while the Colidao people, who lived in Namaltugan were hunting, they discovered the lake. It gave them a great surprise because they found it in the middle of a thick forest which the natives called *"ginobat."*
[311] They believed that it was enchanted by an *anito* because, in spite of the fact that it was in the midst of the thick, dark forest, not a single leaf floated on the water or lay in the bottom of the lake.

ooo Then the Colidao people spread to all the others the news of their discovery. When the Madatag people heard about the lake, they thought that it would be the best place for them to hide their precious jars; because they had heard that a man named Toliao was coming to fight with them. He was from the lowlands,